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# SLAVERY IN AMERICA



REV. THOMAS PRICE

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# SLAVERY IN AMERICA: [14]

WITH

NOTICES OF THE PRESENT STATE

OF

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

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CONDUCTED BY

THE REV. THOMAS PRICE, D.D.

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## CONTENTS:

Apology for Slaveholding . . . . .	305
The Rights and Duties of Slaveholders . . . . .	308
Slavery the Cause of the American Panic . . . . .	309
American Anti-Slavery Society . . . . .	313
REVIEW.—A Narrative of the Adventures and Escape Moses Roper from American Slavery . . . . .	316
National Consistency . . . . .	319
Resolutions passed on the Subject of American Slavery . . . .	320
Title, Preface, and Contents	

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LONDON:  
PUBLISHED BY GEORGE WIGHTMAN,  
24, PATERNOSTER ROW.



## TO THE READER.

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THE observations which we deemed it expedient to make in our last number, must have suggested to our readers the necessity of directing our energies in future to the condition of the professedly emancipated slaves of our own colonies. In suspending this monthly publication for the present, we must protest against the inference being drawn that we feel less interested in American Abolition movements, or that we shall watch with less anxiety the progress of the cause of justice and freedom there; but we do feel that, as a nation, we are too deeply implicated in the chicanery and deception which are practised in our own colonies, to warrant the withdrawal of any portion of our efforts to nations over whom we have no political influence, and where our national character is no ways implicated.

But, while relinquishing this publication in its present shape, we shall have frequent opportunities, in periodicals, newspapers, and other mediums of a public description, of keeping the cause of the American Philanthropists before the eye of British Christians. This we shall ever consider our paramount duty; and we shall attend to it from a full conviction that no human instrumentality is so effective in showing the man-stealer his guilt, as in the constant exposure of his conduct before those, with whom he wishes to stand on terms of amicable and friendly equality. In a slave state, the whole atmosphere is tainted; one man keeps another in countenance; the heart is hardened by what the eyes every day behold; and it is only by bringing his arbitrary and despotic institutions into frequent juxtaposition with the free and equal laws of other nations, that we can shame him out of practices which are as much a disgrace to his character as they are a clog to his prosperity.

We must also warn our American friends from being in the least degree disheartened in their onward course by what is occurring in our Colonies. We there see a practical proof of what has been frequently asserted, both by American and British philanthropists, that the chief difficulty in

effecting emancipation rests with the master and not with the slave. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the slave would do his duty, if the master could be made to do his. If any apprenticeship were required, it is the planter should be made to serve it; and if any legitimate motive could be urged for gradual, rather than immediate, emancipation, it would arise from the side of the master, and not the slave, in order to instil into a heart, which the system has depraved, the principles of justice, and mercy, and truth. It is, indeed, a very hard lesson for him to learn, when he is required to treat those as men and women, endowed with liberties and privileges equal to himself, whom he has from childhood regarded merely as beasts of burden, a kind of intelligent animal, made to serve the interests and obey the will of others.

Our experience will also serve as an example to the friends of the oppressed in other countries, to show them how utterly futile is the attempt to legislate by foreign authority for the proper treatment of the slave, while arbitrary power is vested in the master; or so to leave the victim in his hands as to prevent his escape from ill-treatment, or to seek his own market for his industry. If this had been secured to the apprentices in our colonies, the entire apparatus of stipendiary magistrates might have been dispensed with. As the case now stands, so much is still left for the philanthropists of our country to accomplish on the behalf of our own slave population, that the whole moral force of the religious public must be again brought to bear upon the subject. Already have a great number of the old anti-slavery societies been re-organized; public meetings are being held in various parts of the country; strong demonstrations are made to those who solicit our votes as members of parliament; pamphlets and addresses are in free circulation; and we cannot but entertain the fullest conviction that, however the confidence of the British Parliament has been abused by the abettors of tyranny abroad, that ultimately the strength of the British arm will be felt, slavery will be abandoned in practice as it is now abolished in law; and that the example which Britain has set, will, in due time, be followed by other nations, till a system so accursed in its nature and its effects shall be altogether banished from the abodes of men.

## C O N T E N T S.

---

<b>ABOLITION IN THE UNITED STATES, BRIEF NOTICES OF THE PRO- GRESS OF</b>	3, 25, 58, 76
Abolition Law, Working of the, at Barbadoes	232
Abolitionists, the Conservators of American Liberty	202
Address of the Synod of Kentucky, on Slavery	28, 82
Address of the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica, to the Marquis of Sligo	112
Address of the Bristol Association of Baptist Churches	286
Address of the Glasgow Emancipation Society	138
Address to the Reader on the condition of the Apprentices in our Co- lonies	289
Advertisements, Slave	72, 94
America, an Example to the World	145
America, Testimony of the Church in	216, 239
America, Foreign Slave Trade, No. IV.	293
American Panic, Cause of the late	301
American President, Inaugural Speech of the	241
American Temperance Societies	247
American Slavery, Facts illustrative of	15
American Slavery, Resolutions on the Subject of	20, 42, 66, 95, 118, 167
American Slavery, What can British Christians do towards the extinc- tion of	73, 97
American Slavery, Character of	155
American Kidnappers	188, 271
American Liberty	55
American Liberty, Abolitionists the Conservators of	202
American and British Methodists	101
An Affecting Narrative	105
An Affectionate Expostulation with Christians in the United States of America	221
An Apology for Drs. Reed and Matheson's Narrative	141
Annual Meeting of the Baptist Union	17
Annexation of Texas the United States	297
Antigua, State of Society in the Island of, the effect of complete Emanci- pation	91
Anti-Slavery Society, Upper Canada	207
Apprenticed Labourers in Jamaica, The Legal Position of	95
Apprenticeship System	112
Apprenticeship System, Working of the	88
 Ball, Narrative of Charles	261
Baptist Union, Letter of the Committee of, to the Board of the Triennial Convention of Baptist Churches in the United States	107
Baptist Union, Annual Meeting of the	17, 28
Barbadoes, Working of the Abolition Law	232
Bible Society Meeting, Riotous Interruption of a	227
Black Act of Connecticut, The	215
Blood, Trade in	94

Bombay Presidency, Slavery under the	- - - - -	227
Bradford Remonstrance	- - - - -	90
Bristol Association of Baptist Churches, Address of the	- - - - -	286
British Deputation, The	- - - - -	258
Burning of the Rev. J. Howard Hinton's History of America	- - - - -	48
Bye-Stander's Estimate of Slave-holding Christians	- - - - -	182
Case of Two Female Captives rescued	- - - - -	218
Cause of the late American Panic	- - - - -	301
Character of American Slavery	- - - - -	155
Christian Slavery	- - - - -	217
Christians in America, An Expostulation with	- - - - -	221
Church in America, Testimony of the	- - - - -	216, 239
Church, Slavery in the	- - - - -	166
Color, Prejudice against	- - - - -	24
Condition of the Apprentices in our Colonies, Address to the Reader on the	- - - - -	289
Connecticut, The Black Act of	- - - - -	215
County Associations, Notice to the Secretary of the	- - - - -	265
Day of Especial Prayer for the Abolition of American Slavery, Observation of the last Monday in October, as a	- - - - -	162
Deputation, The British	- - - - -	258
Dexterity, Theological	- - - - -	47
Discussion between Mr. G. Thompson and Rev. J. R. Breckenridge	- - - - -	17
Divine Institution, Slavery a	- - - - -	284
East India Slavery	- - - - -	78
East India Slavery, No. I.	- - - - -	121
No. II.	- - - - -	148
No. III.	- - - - -	169
Editor's Address to the Reader	- - - - -	1
Every day Occurrence	- - - - -	163
Example to the World, America an	- - - - -	145
Extinction of American Slavery, What can British Christians do towards the	- - - - -	73, 97
Extracts from Letters to the Editor	- - - - -	114
Eye-witness, Testimony of an	- - - - -	214
Facts Illustrative of American Slavery	- - - - -	15
Farmington, Quarterly Meeting of Orthodox Friends, An Address from, to its members	- - - - -	193
Female Slaves in India	- - - - -	259
Foreign Slave Trade revived, and New York a Slave Port	- - - - -	209
Foreign Slave Trade, No. I.	- - - - -	168
II.	- - - - -	197
III.	- - - - -	249
IV.	- - - - -	267
V.	- - - - -	293
General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Churches in America	- - - - -	49
Glasgow Emancipation Society, Address of the	- - - - -	138
Grandfather Sol	- - - - -	92
History of America, Burning of the Rev. J. H. Hinton's	- - - - -	48
Horrors and Mortality of the Slave Trade	- - - - -	253
Hunting of Men	- - - - -	55
Inaugural Speech of the American President	- - - - -	241
Influence of Slavery in lowering the Tone of Moral Sentiment	- - - - -	47
Internal Slave Trade	- - - - -	16

<b>Kentucky, Address of the Synod of Kidnappers, American</b>	- - - - -	<b>28, 82 188, 271</b>
<b>Law, Mob</b>	- - - - -	<b>86</b>
<b>Legal Position of Apprenticed Labourers in Jamaica</b>	- - - - -	<b>95</b>
<b>Letter from Dr. S. H. Cox, on Holding Christian Communion with Slave-holders</b>	- - - - -	<b>32</b>
<b>Letter of the Committee of the Baptist Union, to the Board of the Triennial Convention</b>	- - - - -	<b>107</b>
<b>Letter of Arthur Tappan, Esq., of New York, to George Thompson, Esq</b>	- - - - -	<b>265</b>
<b>Letters to the Editor, Extracts from</b>	- - - - -	<b>114</b>
<b>Letter from R. G. Williams, New York</b>	- - - - -	<b>205</b>
<b>Liberty American</b>	- - - - -	<b>55</b>
<b>Liberty of Speech</b>	- - - - -	<b>185</b>
<b>Literature, Slavery <i>versus</i></b>	- - - - -	<b>161</b>
<b>Lord's Table, Prejudice against Color at the</b>	- - - - -	<b>120</b>
<b>Lottery</b>	- - - - -	<b>72</b>
<b>Love of Liberty, The</b>	- - - - -	<b>23</b>
<b>Lynch Law</b>	- - - - -	<b>140</b>
<b>Making the will of a Slaveholder</b>	- - - - -	<b>45</b>
<b>Marquis of Sligo, Address of the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica to the Methodists, American and British</b>	- - - - -	<b>112 101</b>
<b>Methodist Episcopal Churches in America, General Conference of the</b>	- - - - -	<b>49</b>
<b>Mississippi Slave Driving</b>	- - - - -	<b>184</b>
<b>Missouri, Outrages in</b>	- - - - -	<b>164</b>
<b>Mob Law</b>	- - - - -	<b>86</b>
<b>Moral Condition of the Southern States of America</b>	- - - - -	<b>175</b>
<b>Moral Sentiments, The Influence of Slavery in lowering the Tone of</b>	- - - - -	<b>47</b>
<b>Narrative, An Affecting</b>	- - - - -	<b>105</b>
<b>Narrative of Charles Ball</b>	- - - - -	<b>261</b>
<b>Natches, Adam's County, Mississippi, Slave Market at</b>	- - - - -	<b>127</b>
<b>New York a Slave Port, and the Foreign Slave Trade Revived</b>	- - - - -	<b>209</b>
<b>New York, Letter from R. G. Williams</b>	- - - - -	<b>205</b>
<b>New York, Slave-Trading at</b>	- - - - -	<b>10</b>
<b>Notice to the Secretaries of County Associations</b>	- - - - -	<b>265</b>
<b>Observations of the last Monday in October as a Day of Especial Prayer for the Abolition of American Slavery</b>	- - - - -	<b>162</b>
<b>Occurrence, An Every Day</b>	- - - - -	<b>163</b>
<b>Ohio, A Scene on the</b>	- - - - -	<b>187</b>
<b>On Holding Christian Communion with Slaveholders, Letter from Dr. S. H. Cox</b>	- - - - -	<b>32</b>
<b>Outrages in Missouri</b>	- - - - -	<b>164</b>
<b>Parliamentary Apprenticeship Committee, Report of the</b>	- - - - -	<b>130</b>
<b>Prejudice, Strength of</b>	- - - - -	<b>69</b>
<b>Prejudice against Color</b>	- - - - -	<b>24</b>
<b>Prejudice against Color at the Lord's Table</b>	- - - - -	<b>120</b>
<b>Primitive Church, Slave-holders not admitted to the</b>	- - - - -	<b>156</b>
<b>Professors, Slave-flogging</b>	- - - - -	<b>69</b>
<b>Progress of Abolition in the United States, Brief Notices of the</b>	<b>3, 25, 58, 76</b>	
<b>Reader, The Editor's Address to the</b>	- - - - -	<b>1</b>
<b>Religious State of the Slave population in South Carolina and Georgia</b>	- - - - -	
<b>Report of the Parliamentary Apprenticeship Committee</b>	- - - - -	
<b>Resolutions passed in Jamaica</b>	- - - - -	<b>104</b>

<b>Resolutions of several Associated Bodies on the Subject of American Slavery</b>	<b>20, 42, 66, 95, 118, 167</b>
<b>Riotous Interruption of a Bible Society Meeting</b>	<b>227</b>
<b>Scene on the Ohio, A</b>	<b>187</b>
<b>Scenes in Virginia</b>	<b>203</b>
<b>Scenes in the South</b>	<b>201</b>
<b>Slave Advertisements</b>	<b>72, 94</b>
<b>Slave Population in South Carolina and Georgia, Religious state of the</b>	<b>126</b>
<b>Slaves in India, Female</b>	<b>259</b>
<b>Slave Story, The</b>	<b>256</b>
<b>Slave-driving, Mississippi</b>	<b>184</b>
<b>Slave-holding Christians, A Bye-stander's estimate of</b>	<b>182</b>
<b>Slave-holding Ministers a Scandal to their Profession</b>	<b>143</b>
<b>Slave-holder, Making the Will of a</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>Slave-holders not admitted to the Primitive Church</b>	<b>156</b>
<b>Slave-flogging Professors</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>Slave-market at Natches, Adam's County, Mississippi</b>	<b>127</b>
<b>Slave-trading at New York</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Slave-trade, Internal</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Slave-trade, Horrors and Mortality of the</b>	<b>253</b>
<b>Slave Trade, Foreign, No. I.</b>	<b>168</b>
<b>II.</b>	<b>197</b>
<b>III.</b>	<b>249</b>
<b>IV.</b>	<b>267</b>
<b>V.</b>	<b>293</b>
<b>Slavery a Murderous system</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>Slavery a Divine Institution</b>	<b>284</b>
<b>Slavery, Christian</b>	<b>217</b>
<b>Slavery, East India</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>No. I.</b>	<b>121</b>
<b>No. II.</b>	<b>148</b>
<b>No. III.</b>	<b>169</b>
<b>Slavery, Testimony of British Christians against</b>	<b>303</b>
<b>State of Society in Antigua, the effect of complete Emancipation</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>Statistic of the United States' Slave Population</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Strength of Prejudice</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>Temperance Societies, American</b>	<b>247</b>
<b>The Baptist Union</b>	<b>285</b>
<b>United States congress</b>	<b>237</b>
<b>Upper Canada Anti-Slavery Society</b>	<b>207</b>
<b>Vigilance Southern</b>	<b>206</b>
<b>Virginia, A Scene in</b>	<b>203</b>
<b>Washington's Will</b>	<b>161</b>
<b>Working of the Apprenticeship System</b>	<b>88</b>

# Slavery in America.

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No. XIV.—AUGUST, 1837

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## APOLOGY FOR SLAVEHOLDING.

FROM the merited abhorrence with which the entire system of slavery is viewed in this country, it is to many persons a matter perplexing beyond conception, how any Christian, can be brought to adopt or justify such a species of cruelty and wrong. No man, acquainted with the workings of the human mind, but will be ready to concede, that there must be some process of reasoning by which even the slave-dealer and the man-thief justifies his conduct to himself. Habitually to violate his conscience is what no man can do for any length of time. It would be a source of torment to him more than sufficient to counterbalance all the gains of injustice, or the sweets of arbitrary power. It would be to arm a fiend within him whose voice would antedate the misery of the damned. There *must* be a process, however hollow and delusive it may be, by which the abettors of this system justify it to themselves; and more especially is this evident, when we recollect the length of time, and the extent of country, in which it has been practised; and that it has been but very recently that any general and open demonstration of public feeling has been exhibited against it. Even at the present moment, the active opponents of slavery form but a small proportion of the people of the north; and in the south, scarcely such a man is to be found; and those who are there, dare not open their lips on the subject. It appears, therefore, only an act of justice, that we should devote a page or two of our work to permit so large a class of professing Christians, ministers of the gospel, officers of Christian churches, and indeed more than one-half of the entire professing population of America, to justify themselves, in their own language, before their fellow-Christians in other parts of the world. This

we will now permit them to do ; and, moreover, we will bespeak them a careful and candid consideration on the part of our readers ; and we will not prejudice their cause by any animadversions of our own, either by way of prologue or epilogue, but leave their own statements to make their own impression. The first of the following papers is from the pen of the Rev. Mr. PLUMER, a leading minister of the Presbyterian denomination, apparently written in his official capacity, and obviously intended to embody the statements of that body of Christians with which he stands connected.

MR. PLUMER'S REASONS,

*Before the Presbyterian Convention at Philadelphia, for leaving the Subject of Slavery untouched.*

1. When the compact, under which the General Assembly has attained to its present importance, was formed, every presbytery entering into the agreement (with not more than one exception, if indeed there was one) existed in a state under whose laws domestic slavery was established. It is incredible that in that compact it was ever contemplated to censure what was a common practice in nearly or quite all our presbyteries. Our first reason therefore is, that such action would be unconstitutional, and therefore wrong.

2. All such action is contrary to the example and teachings of Christ and his apostles. It is not even pretended that they ever moved the question of the lawfulness of slavery. On the contrary, all they say on the subject is soothing to every feeling of asperity or jealousy or distrust, either in master or slave.

3. It is impossible to enter on the subject without immediately interfering with the politics of the land. No question now before the American people is more intermingled with political interests and parties and legislation than is this. It is confessed that to agitate the subject of the basis of representation in any of our state legislatures, would justly clothe this body and the whole of the Presbyterian church with odium and suspicion. We know full well, however, that the foregoing subject might be far more safely discussed here, than that whose introduction we wish to prevent. Either of the foregoing reasons would fix our purposes on this subject. But we have other reasons which tend greatly to strengthen our determination, such as,

4. That any action on this subject not asked for by us, necessarily proceeds upon a heavy indictment against the morality of the people of the slave-holding states. It immediately arraigns us as guilty, and puts us upon our defence. The people most concerned in the question of slavery, ought to be the party wishing for action. But we have never asked for any thing to be done by the Assembly on this subject. If there be any immorality in the manner of holding slaves under the laws or contrary to the laws of any state, the church session or the presbytery is the proper court in which to commence process, and not the Assembly, which is the court of final judicature.—We utterly refuse to be accused or tried *en masse* for any thing.

5. The men most ready and prominent in agitating the subject were, in Paul's time, men who knew little or nothing of it, but raved about questions. We have no reason to believe that human nature is changed for the better, and we do believe that if those who now agitate the subject, understood it, they would immediately desist.

6. We would be basely recreant to our own good and that of our servants, if we should meet to discuss this subject any where, and especially out of the bounds of our respective states. We mean to govern and control under our awful responsibility to God alone, both our children and our servants, and do for them that which we believe to be most for their and our benefit, without for a moment tolerating any interference with our domestic relations.

7. We testify what we do know, that nought but evil, pure, unmixed and dreadful evil, has resulted to bond and free, black and white, throughout all the slaveholding states, from the excitement which has prevailed on the subject out of those states, and we are determined not to increase evils already so distressing.

8. All that we, who reside in the slaveholding states, say and do on the whole subject is habitually so perverted, and our motives are so misrepresented, that we think it best to avoid all discussion and action, except such as may be necessary for self-defence. Even were it proper at any time to say or do aught on the subject, the public mind is now ill prepared to receive, in a good temper, any thing that may come from us or from any other quarter on the subject.

9. In a delegated body as large as the Assembly there will always be some who will avail themselves of the opportunity, which discussion preceding other action affords, to make irritating and insulting speeches. Feeling no direct or immediate responsibility to those who are peculiarly aggrieved by such remarks, they will even be wanton and cruel. We have no idea of needlessly permitting ourselves to be placed in a situation so unpleasant.

10. Should the Assembly, after discussion, pass any vote on the subject, even by a large majority, nobody will be bound by such vote except so far as it may favor their peculiar views. Consequently, a battle fought one year will be renewed the next, until the meeting of this body shall be the grand anniversary for biting and devouring one another. Our wish is to leave off contention before it be meddled with—to quit quarrelling before we begin it, inasmuch as strife always goes hand in hand with every evil work.

11. Every concession, which for the sake of peace and union we may at any time have made, has been grossly misconstrued into a consciousness of guilt, a confession that we had a bad cause. We have no doubt that such would be the abuse of any concession which we might now make. We wish it fully understood that we have nothing whatever to concede on any branch of the subject.

12. To admit any action on the subject would render us ridiculous in the eyes of those who have no interest in the general subject, contemptible in the eyes of our enemies, and odious to our own dear people and fellow-citizens of the slaveholding states.

13. We foresee very great evils which must arise unless this whole subject be immediately put to rest. For ourselves, we are determined to avoid these evils. The agitators of this subject will unquestionably overrun some portion of our land with incalculable calamities unless speedily checked; and we, in common with all our fellow-citizens in the South, are determined that our respective sections of the land shall not be the field of ruin. If calamity must come, it shall be to those portions of the land, where good men, professing neutrality and lacking firmness to resist the torrent, have let in the overflowing scourge.

14. Any discussion not miserably tame, however cool, kind, scriptural, and defensive it might be on our part, would necessarily inflame passions already

overheated, and would fan an excitement which we believe to be, in its origin, principles, and spirit, fierce, impertinent, reckless, and wicked.

15. We are perfectly well satisfied with our own previous and present course in relation to this whole subject.—We have no cases of conscience to submit to the Assembly, or any other body of men, or any branch of it. Our consciences accuse us not. We do not, therefore, wish anything to be done in a matter respecting which we have no scruples to relieve, but have a very plain course marked out before us.

16. We do firmly believe, that the recent excitement on this whole subject owes its origin and maintenance, in no small degree, to several unworthy causes. The first is a spurious and feverish philanthropy. This has affected *some*. The second is a fanaticism, deep, and dark, and wild, and malignant, which has engaged a few. The third is a design of wily, partisan politicians, who wish to produce a certain state of things in the country, well understood by themselves. This has had great influence. We are fully determined, in reliance upon God, never to be the factors or the subjects of such influences as these,

17. Finally, should the Assembly take up this subject and legislate upon it, and decide that slaveholding is a sin, then, of course, the persons who should thus vote would wish the southern churches cut off for immorality, and the southern churches would all feel themselves instructed by the apostle Paul to "withdraw from such." Thus our church would be rent asunder, and southern and northern Presbyterians and Congregationalists could no longer meet even in a social way, and hail each as brethren. Well, the work of division thus begun must go on, and soon another, and another, and yet another denomination will divide by North and South. Thus the strong bond of religious friendship will be broken. Then nothing is left to be done to finish the work, except to arouse and inflame the infidelity and the animalism of North and South against each other, give the tocsin of disunion a blast, and rend the star-spangled banner in twain, and soon the hostile forces will be marshalled against each other, and the Potomac will be dyed with blood. Can it be that the righteous Judge of all the earth has so dreadful a controversy with the Presbyterian church of the United States as to give her up to the folly and madness of being the first to hoist the gate, and let this flood of desolation roll in. God forbid that a punishment so terrible should await us!

These are some of our views. Though I have the pleasure of knowing that I have uttered sentiments approved, to a letter, by several good men, both in the South and in the North, yet my name alone is to be connected with these statements. The Lord give wisdom and grace to all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in these days, when men's hearts are failing them for looking for those things which shall come to pass.

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The following article is an abstract of two discourses, preached by an episcopal clergyman, by which we have an insight into the kind of theology adapted to the atmosphere of a slave state.

#### "THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SLAVEHOLDERS.

" This is the title of two discourses, delivered on Sunday, Nov. 27, 1836, in Christ Church, Raleigh, N. C., by Geo. W. Freeman, Rector of the church. A

committee of the Senate, then in session, requested their publication. Bishop Ives, in a note to the author, says he listened to the discourses 'with most unfeigned pleasure,' and desires their publication 'from a conviction of their being urgently called for at the present time.'—Both sermons are from this text: Col. iv. 1, *Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven.*

"The author argues that the word rendered *servant*, in the text and elsewhere in the Scriptures, means *slaves*; that it is one of the penal consequences of sin—an effect of 'that doom'—*Cursed is the ground for thy sake, &c.*; that Abraham was a slaveholder; that 'not a word, disapproving the practice, ever fell from his (the Saviour's) lips; that the apostles, though they frequently spoke of slavery, yet never did it 'with one word of disapprobation'; that Paul reclaimed and sent back to his master 'a fugitive slave'; that slavery 'was sanctioned by God himself'; that the slaves have great reason to be contented and thankful, that the *curse* pronounced upon Ham has been changed into a *blessing* with regard to them, in consequence of their introduction into this country from Africa.

"The conclusion then is, says the author, 'no man, nor set of men, in our day are entitled to pronounce it **WRONG**'—and 'we may add that slavery, as it exists at the present day, is **AGREEABLE TO THE ORDER OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE**'.

"The preacher next addresses masters, on their duties to their slaves; that they be not overworked, or unmercifully punished; but, on the contrary, that as 'the labourer is always worthy of his hire,' the just 'hire' of these people is, 'at the least, a complete and comfortable support; and that oral instruction should be given, especially to the children; because 'if after all we should fail of making our slaves sincere and humble Christians, still we might well hope to succeed in making them *more useful servants and better men*.'

"The preacher concludes by reminding masters (he being one) that they have 'a master in heaven,' even Jesus Christ, who will one day appear as their Judge, and require of them to give a strict account of their stewardship! That he is master of the slave in the same sense as he is their master; that both are his property; both bought 'with a price,' even the price of his own precious blood; both redeemed by the same merciful Lord, 'and shall receive our final account from the same mouth.' The discourses are concluded with the parable of the King who would take account of his servants, and the injunction of the Saviour, 'He that hath ears to hear let him hear.'

"Reader, to this complexion will all slaveholding preachers come at last. Slavery must be defended from the Bible. The 'institution' must be upheld as one of mercy, as a blessing to slaves, to the masters, and to the country."

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#### SLAVERY THE CAUSE OF THE AMERICAN PANIC.

A paper was inserted in our last number on the cause of the late American panic. Since that publication was issued, the papers received from America from different parts of the Union, fully corroborate the view there given; and its importance fully justifies us in laying the following additional statements before our readers.

The following description of the melancholy and desperate condition of

one of the Slave States is extracted from the "OHIO PHILANTHROPIST" of May 19th. Providence is evidently teaching those by his frowns who refuse to receive instruction from his word.

"The news from Mississippi is of the most disheartening character. Letters from gentlemen of the highest standing, in various quarters of that state, tell of things that would not have been dreamed of two months ago.

"Negroes that three months since cost 1200 to 1500 dollars each, can be bought in any part of Mississippi for 250 to 300 dollars cash. This description of property, whose increased value depended entirely upon the late exorbitant prices of cotton, has there come down to a level with the present depreciated rates of the great staple, leaving the *unfortunate purchaser* minus thousands. The loss on this kind of property alone is enough to bankrupt the State. But the misfortune does not stop here.

"The planters had anticipated their crops, and received and expended three fourths of their value months ago. On the delivery of the cotton so bought and paid for, they mutually came forward, and expected to mortgage as it were, their labour, capital, and time, for the next twelve months, in order to procure sufficient of the necessaries of life for the support of their negroes, and get means for carrying on their plantations, pitching their crops, &c. To their surprise, the 4th of March and its attendant destruction came upon all their expectations, and crushed them in an instant. They are now left without provisions and the means of living and using their industry, for the present year. In this dilemma, planters whose crops have been from 100 to 700 bales, find themselves forced to sacrifice many of their slaves in order to get the common necessities of life for the support of themselves and the rest of their negroes. In one instance, a small planter whose hopes ran high last winter, and who owned twenty-two slaves, sold three of his best men, for which he had actually paid 3200 dollars, for 850 dollars, to buy pork and corn for the remainder. In many places, heavy planters compel their slaves to fish for the means of subsistence, rather than sell them at such ruinous rates. There are at this moment thousands of slaves in Mississippi, that know not where the next morsel is to come from. The master must be ruined to save the wretches from being starved."

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*From the FRIEND OF MAN, May 31.*

"Rival politicians have exhausted their ingenuity to trace out and expose what they conceive to be the principal cause of our present distress. It is remarkable that they have not hit upon a single supposed case, that is not *itself*, a well known and undeniable effect of *slaveholding*.

"During the forty-eight years since the establishment of the Federal Constitution, there have been only two short periods, of four years each, in which a *slaveholding administration* and a *slaveholding policy* have not governed this people, and what marvel if the interests of free labour and free commerce should suffer under their rule? We have established tariffs and repealed them; we have chartered national banks and unchartered them, and we have managed every other department of political and financial economy, just as the dominant statesman of the *South* have seen fit to dictate. And the *South* moulds her policy to suit the interests of *slaveholding*. She holds the sway because the

Constitution gives her a disproportionate representation in compliment to her policy of *slaveholding*. Just so far, therefore, as the commercial distresses of the country are the result of a bad national policy (if it be so), just so far they are the result of *slaveholding*.

"Another class of politicians very confidently trace our present embarrassments to an inflated paper money and extended credit system. They affirm that the *producing classes* are made the prey of overgrown and disproportionate hordes of traffickers and *speculators*, who prefer to live by their *wits* instead of their *hands*—who choose to earn their bread by converting the agricultural products of the country, its barrels of flour and its bales of cotton, into so many boxes of dice, or packs of cards, to gamble with, instead of adding to their number by their own honest labour—who even cut up the soil of the country into one vast chess-board, dotted with anticipated villages, and checkered with the intersecting streets of cities yet to be built, that they may *themselves* pocket *to-day*, the earnings of the labourer that is to cut down the forests and build the cities of coming generations, half a century hence.

"There is reason to believe that these causes exist, and have had their *share* in producing our present troubles. But these causes are only the *effects* of a previously existing cause. Sober and patient industry once characterized the descendants of the pilgrims. *Whose* example has set them agog to live without labour, upon the labour of the producing classes? It is the example of the *slaveholder*! What has made honest industry disreputable? *Slaveholding*! Where was the first lesson learned, that it was more honourable to live in idleness than to subsist by labour? Among *slaveholders*. Where did the mania of *gaming* commence, that has swept so fearfully over our country? Among *slaveholders*. Who first invented the device of carrying to market, *to-day*, the earnings of the labourers whose work was to be performed in *coming years*? The *slaveholders*!

"There are times when even *merchants*, in all their hurry and bustle, are obliged to pursue, and look at the fundamental principles and facts by which all the pecuniary matters of a community must ultimately be governed. Such a crisis is the present. We have just returned from the city of New York. Such a change in public sentiment and feeling we never before witnessed. Heaven grant the impression may be salutary and abiding.

"We sauntered slowly, one day, through the centre of mercantile operations in New York. We contrasted the present appearance of things with the eager bustle and joyous anticipations of a year ago. An old acquaintance tapped us gently on the shoulder. He had been a merchant in the city for a number of years. We had known him when he commenced the race of life with no capital but his industry and good name. We had known him when he numbered, by estimation, his hundreds of thousands. He was among the ardent opposers of abolitionists in 1834. In these trying times he always eyed us askance, or, what was more commonly the case, took care to let his eye rest on some other object, when we were passing each other on the side walk. But now, it was not so. We had heard his name mentioned among the list of the recent failures. His youthful acquaintances—though abolitionists, were not unheeded by him, *now*. Immediately after the first salutation, he began,—'well—these times are doing more for *abolition* in one day, than all your societies in a year. I should have been a rich man, if I had learned wit enough not to trust the *slaveholders*.'

"Parting with this man, we stepped into the countinghouse of a friend who has a large establishment and a partner in one of the cities of the South. To this gentleman I had never broached the 'delicate subject' of abolitionism, well knowing that it was his utter abomination. But he now introduced it himself. 'A few months ago,' said he, 'the Richmond Enquirer was boasting that the South had one hold upon the North, which would bring them to terms. That hook was commerce. The North could be made to put down the abolitionists, when they saw it was the only means of securing southern custom. But now,' continued the merchant, 'the North has got its belly full of southern custom. Southern debts, on an average, are not worth ten cents on a dollar, nor are they likely to be, for a quarter of a century to come. No! Nor *never*' [added he, with great emphasis] 'so long as the slave system continues, and so long as Northern merchants retain their senses, or remember the catastrophe of 1837.'

"The following item will serve as an illustration of what we are now saying. And the testimony comes from the citadel of the slaveholder.

*Bankruptcy of New Orleans.*

From the *NEW ORLEANS BEE* of the 15th May.

"The liabilities of the cotton factors and buyers are commensurate with the exports of the city—say seventy-five millions; including the responsibilities of the actual planters, the amount may be one hundred millions. But, taking into consideration the amount due on land or real estate speculation, the actual indebtedness of New Orleans may be fairly estimated at two hundred millions. From what sources can this amount be presently produced? Acceptances have been given twelve months in advance on crops; cotton buyers will lose nearly forty per cent on their purchases and exportations; and land speculators are from five to twenty-five years in advance of the productiveness of their lands and lots. Factors have nothing for their acceptances; planters can make nothing by the present price of cotton—eight to ten cents per pound; buyers must lose on exportation, in consequence of the depressed condition of the Liverpool and Havre markets; and the land and lot speculators have only a representative value of about one dollar in twenty.

"Relief is therefore almost impossible; and some of the most discreet and experienced citizens judge it preferable to allow the evils of their present onward and fearful course, which may probably continue for six or eight months longer. The commercial horizon is so obscured, that scarcely a ray of hope glimmers in the vista. All is darkness, doubt, and despair."

THE "MARKET" HAS FALLEN.—One of the chief sources from whence our Southern "brethren" derive their wealth in prosperous times, and to which they could always resort for relief in times of embarrassment like the present, seems to have almost entirely failed them, if we may credit the accounts given in their own papers. They can not *sell one another*, for any thing like a decent price! Only think; a MAN will not fetch more than about 150 dollars now, though just as fat and healthy as he was a year ago, when he would bring 1200 dollars!

What a falling off is here! Why, we begin to think there are no *decent* men at the South; for if there were, they would command better prices.—*From the Republican Monitor.*

## AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

This Society held its fourth anniversary at the Broadway Tabernacle, on Tuesday morning, May 9th, ARTHUR TAPPAN, President, in the chair. Prayer, and reading the Scriptures, by Rev. LEICESTER A. SAWYER, of New Haven, Conn. The Report of the Executive Committee was read by the Corresponding Secretary, ELIJAH WRIGHT, Junr.

*Abstract of the Fourth Annual Report.*

The Report commences with a tribute to the memory of the venerable George Benson, one of the Society's Vice Presidents, and Thomas Shipley, and Edwin P. Atlee, two of its most active and devoted managers; which it improves as an admonition that the time is short in which we can plead the cause of the Lord's outraged and down-trodden poor. It proceeds to state that 483 new Societies have been organized during the year, making the whole number 1006. State Societies have been organized in Michigan and Pennsylvania, while those already existing in seven other states, have prosecuted their labors with increasing zeal, energy, and success. The number of presses wholly or in part devoted to the propagation of Anti-Slavery doctrines, has been greatly multiplied; while opposing presses have, in numerous instances, given marked indications of their sensibility to an approaching turn in the tide of public feeling.

The amount of funds placed in the hands of the Committee has not been as great as was expected at the last anniversary. The total receipts have been 36,567 dollars 92 cents, being an increase over the receipts of last year, of 10,701 dollars 62 cents. Of this, a much larger sum than last year has been expended on the support of living agents. The issues from the press have been as follows, viz.:—

Bound volumes . . . . .	7,877	Anti-Slavery Record . . . . .	103,000
Tracts and pamphlets . . . . .	47,250	Human Rights . . . . .	189,400
Circulars, &c. . . . .	4,100	Emancipator . . . . .	168,120
Prints . . . . .	10,490		
Anti-Slavery Magazine . . . . .	9,000	Total . . . . .	669,387
Slaves' Friend . . . . .	130,150		

Upwards of seventy agents have been appointed during the year, sixty-five of whom have been in the service of the society for longer or shorter periods. Their success is most marked and cheering. Three of the agents have devoted themselves exclusively to encouraging our coloured brethren in the free states, in their laudable efforts to rise, by education and virtuous industry, above the cruel prejudice which is crushing them in the dust, and through their degradation, darkening the despair of the slave. The statistics of our coloured population, their grievances, and the obstacles which have opposed their advancement, have been searched out. They have been encouraged to form societies for mutual assistance and improvement, to support schools, to put their children where they can acquire trades, and to apply themselves to more independent and substantial occupations than those to which they are chiefly devoted in our large cities. In the western states they are inclined to purchase, clear and cultivate the public lands; and the good effect of their zeal and success in this

enterprise, both upon themselves and their white neighbours, begins to be happily developed.

The agent in Ohio, who, for the sake of encouraging coloured men to become cultivators of the soil, has placed his head-quarters in the wilderness, twelve miles from any post-office, writes: "People are coming and buying every week. My wife gets new plots from the land office every now and then, that she may be able to give them directions where to look for lots." He says of the colored people of that state, whom he has laboriously searched out, "The abolition breeze that has blown over them, has been like the Spirit of God upon Adam's lifeless clay." The following, among other facts which he states, shows how the new life manifests itself. "One man (in Springfield) who was a slave till he was about forty years old, has built a school-house at his own expense, on his own lot, which is occupied by a school with 30 scholars. J. Wise (in the vicinity of Springfield) bought himself in Virginia. He rents a farm, raised a thousand bushels of corn last year, &c. I met him driving his team of four horses to the village, with a load of brick. He has two children yet in slavery." "William Roberts also rents a farm, raised 4000 bushels of corn last year." "Nimrod Morgan, a blacksmith, owns his shop, house and lot." "I have found some very good farmers. One man, in Butler county, has taken the premium at the agricultural fair, for three years, for the best sheep. I should consider it an honour to any man to have so well cultivated a farm as his. I have noticed that such men have generally the good will and respect of the whole neighbourhood where they reside." Thus let coloured men become farmers, and strike their roots deep in our free soil, and they will infallibly rise above that prejudice which now makes us even hesitate to publish these simple facts, lest they should call forth mobocratic vengeance, to defeat the experiment.

One agent has been employed to investigate the condition and prospects of the colored people in Upper Canada, where he finds a population of about 10,000, almost entirely fugitives from American oppression. Having crossed the line with no other wealth than their bodies and souls, many of them have made themselves quite comfortable, and some of them have become even wealthy. Several schools have sprung up amongst them, by the efforts of the agent. Full and satisfactory evidence of their good behaviour and value as citizens, has been given by the highest civil authorities, and by men of standing of different sects and parties. Says the Hon. R. G. Dunlop, member of the Provincial Parliament, for the county of Huron, "There are not, in his majesty's dominions, a more loyal, honest, industrious, temperate, and independent class of citizens than the colored people of Upper Canada." Says W. L. Makenzie, Esq., also a member of Parliament, and the well known leader of the Reform party, "As a people, they are as well behaved as a majority of the whites, and perhaps more temperate. The value of this testimony will be appreciated, when it is taken into account that the blacks of Upper Canada, are, to a man, *Anti-Reformers*, fearing lest *Republicanism* should carry them back to what they suffered in the United States."

"Says John H. Dunn, Esq., Receiver General of the province, and resident in Toronto, where there is a colored population of 600 persons: "Although I have been in the habit of daily contributing my assistance to a vast number of destitute poor, ever since my residence in this province, now seventeen years, I do not remember ever having been solicited for alms, by more than one or two

people of color during the whole course of that period."—Many of these self-emancipated people are found to be very intelligent, and capable of throwing much light upon the House of Bondage from which they have escaped. Their statements of the horrors of slavery which they have felt and seen, are so full, definite, and circumstantial, with names, dates, and places, that, unless contradicted by more than a mere denial, they must command our belief.

Several flourishing and anti-slavery societies have been formed in the province, to cooperate with us in the moral warfare, and to bar out that prejudice which some of our white republicans are industriously exporting.

One agent has been exclusively devoted to the dissemination of anti-slavery principles among children and youth, and with gratifying success. On looking into our present generation of revised and improved school books, it will be seen that those faithful finger-boards, which used to point the young mind towards righteousness and liberty, and away from ~~the~~ SLAVERY, as from a den of abominations, are mostly torn down, and in their stead, in some of the popular reading books and geographies, pleasant lanes are opened, through which "Southern institutions" look beautiful in the distance. Here is poisoning at the fountain! Had we expended ten times, nay, one hundred times, the efforts we have, to administer the antidote, we could not have been justly chargeable with overestimating the importance of the measure. Slaveholders dread the young abolitionists more than the old.

Reference is here made to the deputation sent to the West Indies, the facts respecting which have already been published. They proceed to give a tribute of commendation to the Misses Grimké, and to the labours of George Thompson, in Great Britain; and in regard to his debate with Mr. Breckenridge, the testimony of Dr. Wardlaw is given. Reference is also made to the many earnest and faithful remonstrances which have been received from British Christians. Among the cheering results of Anti-Slavery action at home, it is mentioned as peculiarly encouraging that there has been great accession to our ranks of truly religious people of every denomination of Christians, indicated by the thorough-going anti-slavery resolutions passed and published by a multitude of religious bodies. Reference is also made to the action of several state legislatures, to show that the effect of Anti-Slavery operations is beginning to be felt upon large masses of the people. Nor are there wanting tokens that abolitionism is doing a good work within the bosom of the poor soul-enslaved South—kindling up thoughts which it would be death to speak now, but which, in spite of death, will burst forth anon. Many individuals, from the midst of slavery, have given the most solemn assurances that abolition principles are spreading among the white population of the South. "Don't give it up—don't bow down to slavery—you have thousands at the South, who are secretly praying for you," said a Southern minister, on the adjournment of the New York Annual Conference of last year, to a minister who had been threatened with censure for assisting in the circulation of an abolition paper. "There is even now more of it [Abolitionism] at the South, than prudence will permit to be openly avowed," says the *Watchman*, a paper printed at Salisbury, North Carolina.

The Report also alludes to the present commercial distress, as having been in a great measure brought about by the great advances made by Northern and European capitalists, in advance for cotton, to enable the planters to purchase slaves; and expresses the belief that it will ultimately result in benefit to the poor slave.

After alluding to various indications of pro-slavery feeling at the North, the Report concludes: All these things show the need and the efficiency of moral means at the North. Did time permit, we might dwell on the important political measures to which Northern moral power is applicable. While abolitionists will most anxiously refrain from organizing themselves into a political party, and turning from their great work to promote the election of favorites, they will not abstain from using all their political power to accomplish such objects as the preservation of their right of petition to every human being in the land, the abolition of slavery wherever Congress has the power, the exclusion of new slave states, and especially the annexation of Texas, the removal of all political disabilities, on account of colour, the extension of the right of trial by jury, and the recognition of Haytian independence.

While reading the Report, Mr. Wright presented the celebrated remonstrance from the people of Dunbarton and the Vale of Leven, in Scotland, which was unrolled and extended up and down the orchestra, disclosing upwards of 4,000 original signatures.

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**REVIEW:—*A Narrative of the Adventures and Escape of Moses Roper, from American Slavery.*** Darton, Harvey, and Darton. pp. 106.

MOSES ROPER was the son of a slave in North Carolina: his master stood, as is very frequently the case in Slave States, in the double relation of father and master; and, bearing too strong a resemblance to his father, both mother and child were sold soon after his birth. When about six or seven years old, he was sold again, and separated from his mother. His purchaser was a negro trader, who carried him southward; and after several sales and barters, he was purchased by Mr. Gooch, a cotton planter in South Carolina.

The impression which will be made upon every reader of this narrative, will be, *Is it true?* Those who know nothing of slavery but what they will find here, will say it is impossible; and it certainly requires a credulity almost bordering on weakness, to receive the whole as truth. That a human being should be able to endure such hardships, that he should have been able so frequently to escape the vigilance of his owners—that his tale should have been preserved with such minuteness of particulars, and that by a person who, during a great portion of the period referred to could neither read nor write, is almost beyond the bounds of belief. And yet, on the other hand, what conceivable motive can there be for deception. Before arriving on this country, whither he fled as the only place of perfect safety, he was strongly recommended by several very respectable ministers in America, to the friends of religion in Britain; he has now for some time been in constant intercourse with us. He has stood the ordeal of the most severe examination, he has been solemnly warned of the consequences of deception; how it would tend to his own injury, as well as the cause of freedom in general; in this scrutiny we have personally joined; and can affirm, that however incredible the tale may appear, we are perfectly unable to its statements, and can suggest no possible motive which should actuate the narrator to mislead his friends by statements which were not true. The work

will very soon be circulated among the very people whose conduct is so fully exposed; and though we cannot expect that they will plead guilty to the charge thus brought against them, an opportunity will be afforded them of disproving them if they can; and if they cannot, perhaps it may have some effect on their hearts, when they know that enormities like those practised on this poor unfortunate being, are known to thousands of their fellow-professing Christians in Britain, with whom they would wish to stand on terms of friendly intercourse, and mutual respect.

"As soon as Mr. Gooch got me home, he immediately put me on his cotton plantation to work, and put me under overseers, gave me allowance of bread and meat with the other slaves, which was not half enough for me to live upon, and very laborious work; here my heart was almost broke with grief at leaving my fellow-slaves. Mr. Gooch did not mind my grief, for he flogged me nearly every day and very severely. Mr. Gooch bought me for his son-in-law, Mr. Hammans, about five miles from his residence. This man had but two slaves besides myself, he treated me very kindly for a week or two, but in summer when cotton was ready to hoe, he gave me task work connected with this department, which I could not get done, not having worked on cotton farms before. When I failed in my task he commenced flogging me, and set me to work without any shirt, in the cotton field in a very hot sun, in the month of July. In August, Mr. Condell, his overseer, gave me a task at pulling fodder; having finished my task before night, I left the field, the rain came on which soaked the fodder, on discovering this, he threatened to flog me for not getting in the fodder before the rain came. This was the first time I attempted to run away, knowing that I should get a flogging. I was then between thirteen and fourteen years of age, I ran away to the woods half naked, I was caught by a slave-holder, who put me in Lancaster Gaol. When they put slaves in gaol they advertize for their masters to own them; but if the master does not claim his slave in six months from the time of imprisonment, the slave is sold for gaol fees. When the slave runs away, the master always adopts a more vigorous system of flogging, this was the case in the present instance. After this, having determined from my youth to gain my freedom, I made several attempts, was caught and got a severe flogging each time. Mr Hammans was a very severe and cruel master, and his wife still worse, she used to tie me up and flog me while naked."

"After Mr. Hammans saw that I was determined to die in the woods, and not live with him, he tried to obtain a piece of land from his father-in-law, Mr. Gooch; not having the means of purchasing it, he exchanged me for the land.

"As soon as Mr. Gooch had possession of me again, knowing that I was averse to going back to him, he chained me by the neck to his chaise. In this manner, he took me to his home at Mac Daniel's Ferry, in the county of Chester, a distance of fifteen miles. After which, he put me into a swamp, to cut trees, the heaviest work which men of twenty-five or thirty years of age have to do, I being but sixteen. Here I was on very short allowance of food, and having heavy work, was too weak to fulfil my tasks. For this I got many severe floggings; and after I had got my irons off, I made another attempt at running away. He took my irons off in the full anticipation that I could never get across the Catarba River, even when at liberty. On this I procured a small Indian canoe, which was tied to a tree, and ultimately got across the river in it. I then wandered through the wilderness for several days without any food, and but a drop of water to allay my thirst, till I became so starved, that I was obliged to go to a house to beg for something to eat, when I was captured, and again imprisoned."

"Mr. Gooch having heard of me through an advertisement, sent his son after me tied me up, and took me back to his father. Mr. Gooch then obtained the assistance of another slave-holder, and tied me up in his blacksmith's shop, and gave me fifty l

with a cow hide. He then put a long chain, weighing twenty-five pounds, round my neck, and sent me into a field, into which he followed me with the cow hide, intending to set his slaves to flog me again. Knowing this, and dreading to suffer again in this way, I gave him the slip, and got out of his sight, he having stopped to speak with the other slave-holder."

"I got to a canal on the Catarba River, on the banks of which, and near to a lock, I procured a stone and a piece of iron, with which I forced the ring off my chain, and got it off, and then crossed the river, and walked about twenty miles, when I fell in with a slave-holder named Ballad, who had married the sister of Mr. Hammans. I knew that he was not so cruel as Mr. Gooch, and, therefore, begged of him to buy me. Mr. Ballad, who was one of the best planters in the neighbourhood, said, that he was not able to buy me, and stated that he was obliged to take me back to my master, on account of the heavy fine attaching to a man harbouring a slave. Mr. Ballad proceeded to take me back; as we came in sight of Mr. Gooch's, all the treatment that I had met with there came forcibly on my mind, the powerful influence of which is beyond description. On my knees with tears in my eyes, with terror in my countenance, and fervency in all my features, I implored Mr. Ballad to buy me, but he again refused, and I was taken back to my dreaded and cruel master. Having reached Mr. Gooch's, he proceeded to punish me. This he did by first tying my wrists together and placing them over the knees, he then put a stick through, under my knees and over my arms, and having thus secured my arms, he proceeded to flog me, and gave me 500 lashes on my bare back. This may appear incredible, but the marks which they left at present remain on my body, a standing testimony to the truth of this statement of his severity. He then chained me down in a log-pen with a 40 lb. chain, and made me lie on the damp earth all night. In the morning after his breakfast, he came to me, and without giving me any breakfast, tied me to a large heavy barrow, which is usually drawn by a horse, and made me drag it to the cotton field for the horse to use in the field.

"After this, though still determined in my own mind to escape, I stayed with him several months, during which he frequently flogged me, but not so severely as before related. During this time I had an opportunity for recovering my health, and using means to heal my wounds. My master's cruelty was not confined to me, it was his general conduct to all his slaves. I might relate many instances to substantiate this, but will confine myself to one or two. Mr. Gooch, it is proper to observe, was a member of a Baptist Church, called Black Jack Meeting House, in Cashaw county, which church I attended for several years, but was never inside. This is accounted for by the fact, that the coloured population are not permitted to mix with the white population. Mr. Gooch had a slave named Phil, who was a member of a Methodist church; this man was between seventy and eighty years of age; he was so feeble that he could not accomplish his tasks, for which his master used to chain him round the neck, and run him down a steep hill; this treatment he never relinquished to the time of his death.

In the subsequent stages of this narrative, after recording many of the revolting features of slavery, he effected his escape, never more to be retaken, and was recommended to some of the friends of the slave in Great Britain. The narrative is still for the benefit of the sufferer, that he may enjoy the advantages of an English education, and be in some future stage of life, serviceable to the interests of those of his fellow-creatures yet in a state of hopeless bondage.

## NATIONAL CONSISTENCY.

*An American Exposition of Acts xvii. 26, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth."*

## AMERICAN DECLARATIONS.

"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL; THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THE CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS; THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."—*Declaration of Independence.*

"All men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights; of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety."—*Virginia.*

"Through divine goodness, all men have by nature, the rights of worshiping and serving their Creator, according to the dictates of their consciences, of enjoying and defending life and liberty, and acquiring and protecting reputation and property, and, in general, of obtaining objects suitable to their condition, without injury by one to another; and these rights are essential to their welfare."—*Delaware.*

"All men are born equally free and independent; all men have certain natural, essential, and inherent rights; among which are, the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing, and protecting, property; and, in a word, of seeking and obtaining happiness."—*New Hampshire.*

"All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain inherent and indefeasible rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property and reputation, and of pursuing their own happiness."—*Pennsylvania.*

## AMERICAN PRACTICE.

1. "Negroes.—A lot of uncommonly likely negroes for sale—fellows and boys. Sold for no fault. Inquire," &c.

2. "Ten dollars reward.—Run away from the subscriber, a boy named January; rather chunky built; with thick cheeks or jaws. The small part of his right leg having been broken, or badly hurt, shows differently from the left, which is notable; and he says done by a horse when he was small. Any person that will bring him to me, or lodge him in some safe gaol, so that I may get him, shall have the above reward from me. William Watson."

3. "Negro men wanted.—Cash will be paid for negro men from 18 to 30 years old. Apply at the store of Graham and Hope."

4. "Negroes wanted.—Cash will be paid for likely negroes of both sexes, from the age of 10 to 20 years. Persons having such to dispose of may apply to Hugh M'Donald."

5. "Brought to Augusta gaol, on the 17th inst. a negro man who calls himself Riley. The owner is requested to come forward, pay expenses, and take him from gaol."

6. "This day, the 6th inst., will be sold, at the north of the Exchange, at 11 o'clock, a wench about 38 years old, a field hand, with her child 10 months old. Also a wench, 45 years old: a good dairy woman, poultry minder, and nurse. Conditions, cash."

7. "Cash! cash! cash!—The highest prices will be given for negroes of every description. Apply in Beaufain Street, one door from Coming-street.

8. "Fifty dollars reward.—Run away from the subscriber, his negro woman, Patsey, about 45 years old. She has two scars on the right cheek, made by the whip. The above reward will be given to any person who will deliver her to the subscriber: or 25, if in any goal, so that I can get her. If she was not stolen, it is expected that she has endeavoured to get back to Virginia, where she was raised. She was bought of John Lane, a negro speculator.—Henry Bird."

